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1975/01/15

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TO THE WHITE HOUSE
FM USID PEKING

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

VIA VOYAGER CHANNEL
PEKING 100
TO: THE SECRETARY
FROM: GEORGE BUSH
A FEW COMMENTS FROM PE
FOR THE BHUTTO VISIT T

JANUARY 15, 1975

GENERALLY RELATIONS CONTINUE ALONG ABOUT THE SAME AS WHEN YOU WERE HERE. PRESS SPECULATION, MAINLY OUT OF HONG KONG, CONTINUES THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP IS WORSENING--NOT SO.

THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS SPENDS ENDLESS HOURS SPECULATING ON OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC. SOME DIPLOMATIC OBSERVERS FEEL THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT AND THAT THE PRC IS GROWING INCREASINGLY RESTLESS AT THE LACK OF PROGRESS ON TAIWAN.

AMB. YOUNG OF UK, WHOM I RESPECT, HAS TRIED
UNSUCCESSFULLY TO RUN DOWN THESE MANY RUMORS AND HAS CONCLUDED
FOR NOW THAT THEY ARE JUST THAT--RUMORS. HE AGREES WITH ME THAT
AT THIS MOMENT THERE IS NOT AN INCREASING PRESSURE TO GET THE
TAIWAN QUESTION SOLVED.

JAN 13, MOYNIHAN AND I CALLED ON CHIAO KUAN HUA WHO REITERATED THAT RELATIONS HAD MOVED FORWARD AND GENERALLY SOUNDED THE SAME THEME AS IN YOUR TALKS AND IN MY VISIT WITH HIM OF DEC 27TH.

WHEN THE DUTCH FOREIGN MIN. WAS HERE CHIAO HIT US HARD IN A TOAST REFERRING TO BOTH SUPERPOWERS WITH "HONEY ON THEIR LIPS AND MURDER IN THEIR HEARTS"--PRETTY STRONG STUFF. I THOUGHT WE MIGHT BE SEEING A MOVE TOWARDS PUTTING US ON EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE USSR SO I CALLED THE DUTCH AMBASSADOR. HE ASSURED ME THEN AND IN A SUBSEQUENT VISIT THAT THE DUTCH SIDE AGREED THE

***** HSR COMMENT *****

HAK, SCOWCROFT, MCFARLANE, RODMAN

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TONE OF THE TALKS WAS NOT ANTI-AMERICAN AND THAT THE USSR GOT MOST OF THE CRITICISM.

MY PERSONAL VIEW IS THE PRC IS RUNNING A RISK IN CRITICIZING US AS MUCH AS THEY DO. SO FAR AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION HAS NOT FOCUSED IN ON ALL THE ATTACKS ON US. WHEN IT DOES SO FOCUS WE CAN EXPECT SOME GRIEF ON THE HILL.

ONE BASIC PROBLEM IS THAT THE PRESS WANTS TO SEE VISIBLE SIGNS OF PROGRESS AND THERE JUST AREN'T THAT MANY AREAS WHERE WE CAN KEEP SAYING "LOOK AT ALL THAT PROGRESS". TRADE AND EXCHANGES ARE ROCKING ALONG O.K.

USLO HASN'T EXPANDED THE "SCOPE OF ITS FUNCTIONS", BUT THE PRC HAS NOT HIT YOUR RECENT BID ON THAT ONE. FOR EVEN ONE MORE PERSON WE WOULD NEED MORE SPACE. I FEEL WE COULD USE MORE PEOPLE PRODUCTIVELY, BUT CERTAINLY WE ARE NOT SHORT HANDED. THE ONE MAIN REASON IN FAVOR OF EXPANSION WOULD BE TO DEMONSTRATE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE RELATIONSHIP. IN TERMS OF DAY TO DAY OPERATIONS OR TREATMENT IN PEKING WE DON'T MISS FULL EMBASSY STATUS. WE ATTEND DIPLOMATIC RECEPTIONS WITHOUT HAVING TO MEET THE PRIME MINISTER OF MALTA AT THE AIRPORT. WE SEE AS MUCH IF NOT MORE OF HIGH CHINESE OFFICIALS AS ANY OTHER MISSION HERE.

ON THE TAIWAN QUESTION, THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE CONVINCES ME THAT THAT QUESTION CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT COMPROMISE ON THE PART OF THE PRC.

THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO BE MAKING SOME TOUGH DECISIONS IN THE DOMESTIC FIELD. THESE WILL UNDERSTANDABLY ANTAGONIZE HIS CONSERVATIVE "CONVENTION GOING" SUPPORT. THIS ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE SOLVED IN A MANNER ADDING TO HIS POLITICAL HURRIES. THERE IS NO PRESSURE HERE IN PEKING AT THIS JUNCTURE THAT WOULD CAUSE ME, AT LEAST, TO RECOMMEND THAT THE PRESIDENT SOLVE THE TAIWAN QUESTION ON THE PRC TERMS.

NATURALLY I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE TAIWAN QUESTION OUT OF THE WAY AND OUR RELATIONS NORMALIZED, BUT THE PRESIDENT MUST NOT BE POSTURED AS HAVING "SOLD OUT" TAIWAN.

IN MY VIEW US PUBLIC OPINION IS CONDITIONED TO ACCEPT EMBASSY STATUS HERE AND SOMETHING LESS FOR TAIWAN, BUT IT HAS NOT YET FOCUSED ON THE DETAILS. THE PEOPLE FORD NEEDS AT THE GOP CONVENTION WOULD ACCEPT DOWNGRADING TAIWAN TO LESS THAN EMBASSY STATUS BUT WOULD NOT ACCEPT SELL-OUT.

I CONTINUE TO AGREE WITH MANY DIPLOMATS HERE WHO FEEL THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP IS THE MOST IMPORTANT GAME IN TOWN FOR THE PRC. EVEN WITHOUT EMBASSY STATUS THIS USLO IS THE MOST

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IMPORTANT OFFICE HERE AS FAR AS THE PRC GOES.

I SET THESE VIEWS OUT NOT THAT I SENSE DISAGREEMENT WITH THEM IN THE DEPARTMENT RATHER BECAUSE I FEEL THE QUESTION WILL INCREASINGLY BE ASKED "CAN THE PRESIDENT GO TO CHINA IN 1975 WITHOUT SOLVING THE TAIWAN QUESTION?" I THINK THOUGHT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO HOW BEST TO GET AN ANSWER IN THE AFFIRMATIVE SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE PRESS SO AS TO AVOID GETTING THE ISSUE BUILT WAY UP IN THE MINDS OF THE PUBLIC.

REGARDING MY OWN JOB HERE: I LIKE IT. I AM TRYING TO SHOW THE CHINESE THAT AMERICANS ARE NOT ALOOF. GOING TO THE RECEPTIONS OF THE SMALL THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HELPS. WE SEE CHINESE THERE AND THE WORD SPREADS. BICYCLING IN PEKING HELPS. HAVING THE CHINESE TO OUR RESIDENCE HELPS. THE TRADE MINISTER COMES TODAY FOR LUNCH. LIVING INFORMALLY HELPS. HITTING WITH THE CHINESE TENNIS PLAYERS HELPS.

I CONTINUE TO BE AMAZED AT HOW OUR ACTIVITIES ARE REPORTED TO HIGH CHINESE OFFICIALS--THEY KNOW WHAT WE DO. I'M NOT SURE THEY YET KNOW WHAT I'M TRYING TO CONVEY BUT I AM HOPEFUL ON THIS POINT.

WHEN YOU WERE HERE TENG SUGGESTED I GO SEE THE "CAVES". I WENT AND SAW A RATHER UNSOPHISTICATED NETWORK OF TUNNELS UNDER A SHOPPING STREET--IMPRESSIVE IN THE AMOUNT OF HOURS IT MUST HAVE TAKEN TO BUILD THEM, BUT CLEARLY MORE FOR MORALE THAN FOR REAL DEFENSE AGAINST HEAVY BOMBING. I WAS NOT HALF AS IMPRESSED WITH THE CAVES AS I WAS WITH SEEING 3 YEAR OLD KIDS IN REVOLUTIONARY STREET COMMITTEE SINGING ABOUT THEIR "INDUSTRIAL HANDS" AND THE GLORY OF THE PLA. WHAT A DELIVERY SYSTEM FOR THE PARTY LINE THEY HAVE.

LASTLY THERE ARE A COUPLE OF HIGHLY SENSITIVE COMMENTS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT AND ABOUT YOU ATTRIBUTED TO A HIGH PRO: SOURCE THAT I WOULD NOT WANT TO PUT ON ANY PAPER. CAN WE CHAT BETWEEN JAN 23 AND JAN 31.

EXCUSE THE RAMBLING NATURE OF THIS MESSAGE BUT I WANTED
TO GET SOME IMPRESSIONS OFF TO YOU BEFORE LEAVING FOR PAKISTAN.

BEST REGARDS.

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